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A STUDY OF FEMALE ADULT OFFENDERS
FROM THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF PROVIDENCE
WHO HAVE BEEN PLACED ON PROBATION
ON THE CHARGE OF NEGLECT OF CHILDREN
BY THE RHODE ISLAND JUVENILE COURT
FROM ITS INCEPTION, JULY 1, 1944, TO JULY 1, 1947

A Thesis

Submitted by
Jean Curran Turcott
(B.S. Marywood College, 1939
B.E. Rhode Island College of Education, 1940)
In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Science in Social Service

1948

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Motherhood is a state which creates specific responsibilities whether the children are born in or out of wedlock. These responsibilities are generally ingrained within one. It is, in fact, a basic instinctive responsibility for man or animal to protect and provide for his young, although it sometimes happens that one finds an animal that disregards this basic instinct: one who attempts to kill or does kill its young. Occasionally also a man or a woman is encountered who does not abide by this great moral responsibility of protecting and providing for his young. Men and women such as these have created within the community in which they live a vital social problem - a problem which has been with us since the beginning of human existence, and which, to date, still has not been adequately met.

Since the establishment of the Juvenile Court of the State of Rhode Island on July 1st, 1944, one phase of the writer's work has been that of "supervising," or extending case work services to female adults who have appeared before that court on the charge of neglect of children and who have been placed on probation. In working with

McDonald is a state wide general liability broker.

1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation. The investigator must identify the problem and the scope of the investigation. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation. The investigator must identify the problem and the scope of the investigation.

ability for me to be able to contact and provide for
 his young. Although it is somewhat impossible to tell
 an animal that distinguishes this type of animal; one who
 attempts to kill or does kill is young. Occasionally
 also a man or a woman is involved who does not side

by this exact moral responsibility of providing and
controlling the life itself. And we must have an inner
drive toward the community in which they live a
vital social problem - a problem which we face with us
since the beginning of human existence, and which, in

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and will have been placed on probation. In working with
of better than that on the charge of neglect of children
ing case work referred to female adults who have experi-
editions were the best sort of "rehabilitation," on average
State of Rhode Island on July 1st, 1914, and found to the
I have the statement of the juvenile court of 1914

this group of females many questions and problems have arisen in the writer's mind that are particularly vital, and which should be met and dealt with effectively. It is to this end that this study has been undertaken with the following general purposes in mind: (1) to examine the moral aspects of the duties of parents to their children; (2) to examine the causative factors which have led to the appearance of these females in the juvenile court so that the dynamics of their situations that have led to the violations of one of the most basic moral laws of society may be more clearly understood and appreciated; (3) to determine, in the light of these findings, whether or not there was moral dereliction in the behavior of these women in the neglect of their children (i.e., can they be blamed for violating a moral law that their conscience did not recognize?); and (4) to determine on the basis of these findings the prognoses of these women with the present available case work services.

These purposes reflect more or less the Purpose and the Basic Principles of the Juvenile Court Act:

The purpose of this act is to secure for each child under its jurisdiction such care, guidance and control, preferably in his own home, as will serve the child's welfare and the best interests of the state; to conserve and strengthen the child's family ties wherever possible, removing him from the custody of his parents only when his welfare or the safety and protection of the public cannot be adequately safeguarded with-

This group of families many questions and problems have arisen in the writer's mind and are particularly vital. It is and which would be met and dealt with effectively. It is to this end that this study has been undertaken with the following general purposes in mind: (1) to examine the social aspects of the duties of parents to their children; (2) to examine the causes of the various social problems which have led to the separation of these families in the juvenile court so that the causes of these situations that have led to the separation of one or the other party from the family may be more clearly understood and appreciated; (3) to determine, in the light of these findings, whether or not there are moral deficiencies in the behavior of these women in the neglect of their children (4)... and they are listed for the purpose of showing that their responsibility and not the child's is the cause of the separation of the family of these families; and (5) to determine on the basis of these findings the measures of these women with the present available data with respect.

These purposes reflect more or less the following and

the basic principles of the juvenile court law

The purpose of this study is to examine the social aspects of the duties of parents to their children, and to determine whether or not there are moral deficiencies in the behavior of these women in the neglect of their children (4)... and they are listed for the purpose of showing that their responsibility and not the child's is the cause of the separation of the family of these families; and (5) to determine on the basis of these findings the measures of these women with the present available data with respect.

out such removal; and, when such child is removed from his own family, to secure for him custody, care and discipline as nearly as possible equivalent, to that which should have been given by his parents.¹

In short, the purpose and basic principles of the Act of '44 aim to strengthen and rebuild family ties and homes, and to separate children from their parents only as a last resort, and then, with the goal in mind of extending services either through the probation counselors that are attached to the juvenile court or other social agencies to these crippled families, to enable them to be reunited and to function at their maximum capacity without supplementary assistance.

This study is based on the analysis of forty cases - the total number of females in the metropolitan area of Providence who were placed on probation for neglect of their children by the Rhode Island Juvenile Court from the time of its inception on July 1st, 1944, to July 1st, 1947. Since the writer has prepared these case histories, and has supervised these offenders with one exception, the case histories and supervision records were reviewed and studied according to the schedule in the appendix in an effort to reach a conclusion for the second, third, and fourth purposes of this study, and with the further intention of making recommendations as an added effort to meet

1 R.I. Pub. L., 1944, Ch. 1441, s.1.

J. L. F. S. J. L. F. S.

the needs of this particular group. The fortieth case was supervised by another worker, but the writer has studied it closely and discussed it with that worker to obtain a complete view of the case in all of its aspects and the adjustment that followed.

The writer feels that her position in undertaking this study is unique because all of the data studied and presented were acquired first-hand. Her position is also unique in that she has literally "grown up" with the juvenile court and has been impressed by the social thinking and basic philosophy with which the court functions. It is stated in the Third Annual Report of the court: "The historian of the future will mark the Rhode Island Juvenile Court as the 'Family Court.'"²

Each and every study incurs limitations through its very nature and its basic purposes. In this particular instance the writer feels that this study might well include many cases that were active with Rhode Island Child Service, a children's protective agency, within the time limit specified in this undertaking - cases which rightfully needed the attention and help of the court, but which for one reason or another were not referred for court action.

² Juvenile Court of the State of Rhode Island, Third Annual Report, p. 10.

and the following:

State that the case is in all the papers and the subject
clearly and discussed it with that woman in regard to a
questioned by another woman, the subject was talking to
the name of this particular group. The following were the

[illegible]

Wine & Food Service, Inc.
20000 1st Avenue, Suite 100
Brentwood, Tennessee 37027

Such inclusion, however, would have produced a comparative study, which is beyond the scope of this paper. Also, to obtain a full qualitative study one must limit the selection of cases; and the selection of forty cases appeared to the writer to be complete and varied enough to present typical examples of this group.

The problems presented by the neglectful mothers are particularly vital to everyone, and any study which might throw additional light on the subject seems to the writer to be worth-while.

These conditions, however, would have produced a qualitative
study, which is beyond the scope of this paper. Also, to
obtain a full quantitative study one would need the follow-
ing of cases; and the estimation of these cases appears
to the writer to be complete and raised enough to present
typical examples of this group.

The problem presented by the logical method is
particularly vital in statistics, and any study which might
show additional facts on the subject seems to the writer
to be worthwhile.

CHAPTER II

THE LEAVEN OF CULTIVATED MORALITY

As a proper and perhaps necessary preliminary to the consideration of the place and work of the juvenile court in Rhode Island with neglectful mothers, an attempt will be made in this study to outline the sources from which are drawn the principles that inspired the community with the desire to set up such a court, which give life to its work and which use that work to bring into the healthy social stream those groups of maladjusted which, if left unnoticed, would develop to such an extent as to be an indictment of present-day civilization.

This delving into the past is undertaken for another reason also. Of late there is much discussion about the rise of juvenile delinquency and the increase in neglect situations. The popular explanation for these phenomena is that the modern parents are not completely bearing their full responsibilities. It is also asserted that the number and magnitude of these problems are beyond comprehension, particularly in view of the advantages, opportunities and assistances offered by the modern schools, the church, and other public and private social agencies. Indeed, these phenomena are discussed in such a manner that

[illegible]

This volume is a book in which the author has collected a number of papers which he has written in the last few years. It is a book which is of interest to all who are concerned with the history of the United States. The author is a well-known writer and his book is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.

an observing but not too inquisitive listener would think that this is a mode of behavior peculiar only to this generation. It will be shown that this problem is not new, not peculiar to the twentieth century, but has been presented to past generations as well - not so acutely perhaps because now the mode of living has changed.

True, very true, the primary locus for the origination of the leaven of cultivated morality is the home, and the parents are its founders. Society casts on the parents, first, responsibility for their own social conduct; and, second, the responsibility of implanting and cultivating within the family itself, including all its members, the commonly accepted principle of social morality, the application of which to everyday conduct is required of each member of society. It is the failure of parents in a sufficient number of particular cases to appreciate, accept, and discharge their responsibilities that gives rise to the problems calling for the establishment of such an institution as the juvenile court. This failure on the part of a certain number, however, has existed since the first recording of the history of mankind.

It has been said that the primary social unit is the home, and that the parents are its founders. It did not require an act of any legislature to establish the home as the responsibility of the parents, nor the parents as

an observing and not an intervening attitude which means
that this is a mode of being for becoming only in this
groundwork. It will be shown that this position is not one,
not peculiar to the scientific method, but has been con-
sidered to be a scientific attitude as well - and we would like to
begin with the mode of living has changed.

Now, you may say, the primary issue for the scientific
of the living is individual activity in the sense, and the
primary are the functions. Society exists on the basis of
first, responsibility for their own social conduct; and
second, the responsibility of individual and collective
within the social itself, including all its members, the
community accepted principles of social activity, and ap-
plication of them to society as a whole is required of
each member of society. It is the nature of society to
a sufficient number of particular cases to approximate,
second, and therefore their responsibilities must give
rise to the problems calling for the establishment of
such as individual in the juvenile courts. This follows
on the part of a person's conduct, however, has existed
above the first step of the study of society.
It has been said that the primary social unit is the
home, and that the parents are the primary. It did not
neglect the fact of any individual or individual the home
as the responsibility of the parents, and the parents as

the responsible agents in founding, maintaining and conducting the home. Society itself makes that provision, and it makes it so universal that it has been accepted by all civilized mankind from the earliest times. It may not be an overstatement to assert that the earliest expressions in written form of these moral principles - the acceptance and cultivation of which are the prime evidences of Western civilization - are to be found in the Bible, the Old Testament, the depository of the wisdom of the Hebrew, or Jewish, peoples. From cover to cover this venerable treasure house is packed with countless precepts which form the very warp and woof of our present-day civilization. Those relating to parental responsibility and filial duty are nowhere in all literature - not even in the most modern and most widely accepted literature - so pithily stated, so poetically expressed, as they are in The Book of Proverbs:

To know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding; to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice and judgment, and equity; to give subtilty to the simple; to the young man knowledge and discretion.¹

Individuals learn from their fathers and their mothers. Members of the state, citizens, learn from predecessor citizens - the founders of the state. The little groups

¹ Old Testament, The Book of Proverbs, Ch. 1, Par. 2-4.

The responsibility is placed, unambiguously and con-
 sidering the fact, largely upon the individual, and
 it seems to me essential that it be accepted by all
 civilized nations from the earliest times. It may not be
 an overstatement to assert that the earliest expression in
 written form of these moral principles - the Magna Carta and
 Declaration of Rights - are the oldest witnesses of Western
 civilization - and it is found in the Bible, the Old Testam-
 ent, the teachings of the fathers of the Church, or Jewish
 law. These are the principles which have been
 passed with various additions which have the very high
 and most of our present-day civilization. These principles
 of personal responsibility and moral duty are embodied in
 all literature - not even in the most modern and most wide-
 ly scattered literature - so vitally and so essentially
 concerned, as they are in the Book of Genesis:

in those windows and doorways; to receive the impressions
words of understanding; to receive the impressions
of wisdom, justice and holiness, and ability; to
give assent to the signs; in the young man
knowledge and discernment.

...and the other side of the road.

Alabama - The Founders of the State, the little group
 members of the state, little group

• • • • •

that straggled into the territory and began the settlements here, that today are called Rhode Island, were English people. They brought with them for their guidance and government the principles of morality and of law which were universally recognized and accepted in their homeland. It is true that divisions had come among the home people with respect to principles of church government, but their fundamental moral concepts were the same no matter to what sect they professed to adhere. Indeed, from the earliest times, continued without interruption to the present day, and as certain to be continued in the future as they surely have been in the past, the moral code and the laws of England, founded as they are on the moral code found in the Bible, have furnished the guide posts that have kept the morals and the laws of modern time on as high a plane as has yet been achieved by man.

The great expounder and systematizer of the English common law was Sir William Blackstone, author of the "Commentaries" on the laws of England, commonly called "Blackstone's Commentaries." These commentaries are frequently referred to as authoritative and even to the present day are studied in every institute of law where the English language is in use. It is, therefore, permissible to refer to his treatment of the subject "Parent and Child" in the commentaries, for there one finds an

that a single law can govern the whole
needs here, that they are called upon to
their people. They brought with them the same
and government the principles of society and of law
which were universally recognized and accepted in their
inviolable. It is true that divisions had been among the
how people with respect to principles of civil govern-
ment, but these fundamental moral principles were the same.
no matter to what side they gravitated in history. Indeed,
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in the present day, and as possibly to be continued in the
future as they always have been in the past, the moral code
and the laws of England, founded as they are on the same
moral basis as the Bible, have furnished the guideposts
that have made the world and the laws in common time as
as with a guide as has yet been achieved by man.

The great endeavor and aspiration of the English
people has been the English character, as seen in the
"Commonwealth" or "Law of England," commonly called
"English Law." These documents are the
constantly referred to as authoritative and even to the
present day are added in every instance of law where
the English language is in use. It is, therefore, impos-
sible to refer to his character of the English "people"
and call it the Commonwealth, for there are laws as

expression almost co-temporary with the Declaration of Independence of the legal and moral principles by which the law makers of Rhode Island were guided when called upon to legislate upon this subject. The text referred to is Cooley's second edition. It is supplemented by copious notes on the principles of Blackstone's text as wrought upon by the jurists of the United States.

Blackstone defines a "legitimate" child as - "he that is born in lawful wedlock";² and he inquires into "1. The legal duties of parents to their legitimate children. 2. Their power over them. 3. The duties of such children to their parents."³

He considers these topics in this order as follows:

And, 1; the duties of parents to legitimate children; such principally consists in three particulars, their maintenance, their protection and their education.⁴

He then shows:

The duty of parents to provide for the maintenance of their children is a principle of natural law; an obligation, says Puffendorf, "laid on them not only by nature herself, but by their own proper act in bringing them into the world"...And the president, Montesquieu, has a very just observation on this head: that the establishment of marriage in all

² Sir William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England, Bk. 1, Ch. 16, *p. 446 (Thomas M. Cooley, Ed., 2d Ed.).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

civilized states is built on this natural obligation of the father to provide for his children...⁵

Interspersed with these principles are others dealing with the condition in respect of parental duties towards illegitimate children, to which later reference will be made.

To return to Blackstone's text:

No person is bound to provide a maintenance for his issue, unless where the children are impotent and unable to work, either through infancy, disease, or accident, and then is only obliged to find them with necessaries, the penalty on refusal being... For the policy of our laws, which are ever watchful to promote industry, did not mean to compel a father to maintain his idle and lazy children in ease and indolence; but thought it unjust to oblige the parent, against his will, to provide them with superfluities and other indulgences of fortune, imagining they might trust to the impulse of nature, if the children were deserving of such favors.....

From the duty of maintenance we may easily pass to that of protection, which is also a natural duty, but rather permitted than enjoyed (enjoined?) by any municipal laws: natural in this respect, working so strongly as to need rather a check than a spur....

The last duty of parents to their children is that of giving them an education suitable to their station in life; a duty pointed out by reason, and of far the greatest importance of any. For, as Puffendorf very well observes, it is not easy to imagine or allow that a parent has conferred any considerable benefit upon his child by bringing him into the world; if he afterwards neglects his culture and education, and suffers him to grow up like a mere beast, to lead a life useless to others and shameful to himself.....

Our laws, though their defects in this particular

5 Ibid., *p. 447.

divided states in fact on this subject...
of the father as provider for his children...
interposed with these principles was...
with the condition in respect of parental duties...
legitimate children, to which later reference will be made.

On return to Blackstone's text:

no person is bound to provide a maintenance for his family, unless where the children are impotent and unable to work, either through infancy, disease, or accident, and then is only obliged to find them with necessities. The penalty on refusal being...
For the policy of our laws, which are ever watchful to protect industry, did not seem to compel a father to maintain his wife and large children in ease and indulgence; but sought to induce to college the parent, against his will, to provide them with superfluities and other indulgences of fortune. Teaching, they might trust to the impulse of nature. If the children were deserving of such favours....

from the duty of maintenance we may easily pass to that of protection, which is also a natural duty. But rather permitted than imposed (as joined) is any parental law: natural in this respect, making no account as to root rather a cloak than a spot....

The first duty of parents to their children is that of giving them an education suitable to their station in life; a duty arising out of reason, and of far the greatest importance of any. For, as I have said, very well observed, it is not easy to imagine or allow that a parent has conferred any considerable benefit upon his child by giving him Latin and Greek; or that his education begets him any more wisdom, or that a life devoted to a study and learning be himself....

Our laws, though their defects in this particular

cannot be denied, have in one instance, made a wise provision for breeding up the rising generation; since the poor and laborious part of the community, when past the age of nurture, are taken out of the hands of their parents, by the statutes for apprenticing poor children; and are placed out by the public in such a manner as may render their abilities in their several stations of the greatest advantage to the commonwealth. The rich indeed are left to their own option whether they will breed up their children to be ornaments or disgraces to their family.

2. The power of parents over their children is derived from the former considerations, their duty; this authority being given them partly to enable the parent more effectually to perform his duty, and partly for a recompense for his care and trouble in the faithful discharge of it.....⁶

Then follow references to the Roman law touching the authority of the father. He resumes:

This power of a parent by our English laws is much more moderate, but still sufficient to keep the child in order and obedience. He may lawfully correct his child, being under age, in a reasonable manner; for this is for the benefit of his education. The consent or concurrence of the parent to the marriage of his child, under age, was also directed by our law to be obtained; but now is absolutely necessary, for without it the contract is void. And, this, also, is another means which the law puts into the parent's hands, in order the better to discharge his duty; first, of protecting his children from the snares of artful and designing persons; and next of settling them properly in life, by preventing the ill consequences of too early and precipitate marriages..... The legal power of a father - for mother, as such, is entitled to no power, but only reverence and respect - the power of the father, I say, over

⁶ Ibid., *pp. 449-452.

the persons of his children ceases at the age of twenty-one; for they are then unfranchised by arriving at years of discretion, or that point which the law has established, as some must necessarily be established, when the empire of the father, or other guardian, gives place to the empire of reason. Yet, till that age arrives, this empire of the father continues even after his death; for he may by his will appoint a guardian to his children. He may also delegate part of his parental authority during his life, to the tutor or schoolmaster of his child; who is then in loco parentis, and has such a portion of the power committed to his charge, viz. that of restraint and such correction, as may be necessary to answer the purposes for which he is employed.⁷

Thus far Blackstone considers the principles of law governing the relative duties - public and private - individual and reciprocal between parent and legitimate child. It is well, now, to pause and reflect on the principles of the legitimate relationship.

It has already been said that Blackstone was contemporary with the Declaration of Independence. (Indeed, he died in 1780.) It is for this reason that he is above quoted at such length; for by the very provision of the Rhode Island statute relating to English laws, and the decisions of our courts relating to the English common law of that period, these principles became the laws of Rhode Island, and except where modified by other Rhode Island statutes, or decisions, are Rhode Island law today.

⁷ Ibid., *pp. 452-453.

The struggle for independence occupied the attention of the legislature of Rhode Island and of the people for many years. This was followed by the strife over the voting franchise, arising from the failure in Rhode Island to adopt at once, as was done in other states, a state constitution on the lines of the political principles lying at the bottom of the war for independence. Therefore one finds little social legislation in the revolutionary period and in that immediately following. Indeed, in this period the "revisions" of the law of general application were so rudimentary that they were not gathered into titles and chapters but merely into a collection of separate legislative acts.

This is shown by the revision of 1822, the King Charles Charter being still in force, where will be found law designed "to secure to masters and to mistresses and to apprentices, and minor servants, bounden by deed, their mutual privileges."⁸ This act sets up an elaborate system of apprenticeship stating that

Minors, within the age of 21 years may be bounden by deed as servants and apprentices, by their father, and in case of his decease by their mother, when sole or if under 14 years by their guardian, legally appointed.....⁹

8 R.I. Pub. L., s. 1 (Revision 1822).

9 Ibid.

[illegible]

This is shown by the revision of 1922. The King himself
commented being well in force, where will be found the de-
clared "to secure to masters and to witnesses and to ap-
prentices, and other persons, bound by deed, their
usual privileges." This was said of an elaborate system
of apprenticeship which was

[illegible]

U.S. DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE

1222

Here we find an early - if not the first - comprehensive effort to state for Rhode Island in the form of a law the principles by which the parent or guardian may provide for the education and training of the son, daughter, or ward. It is directly predicated on the principles laid down by Blackstone, and covers, by his system, both the legitimate and the illegitimate offspring. With respect to the latter, the general principle of Blackstone and of the law is that since the child of an unmarried mother has no known father, nature requires that the mother herself, in the first instance, has with respect to her child the powers which a father has over the child born in lawful wedlock. But the state (or commonwealth as Blackstone expresses it) has an interest to see that the child becomes self-supporting and if the mother is unable to provide for it, takes over the control of the child, primarily to prevent its becoming a public charge - and secondarily to provide for its future - the latter a consequence of the former.

The overseer of the poor and the town council have until very recent times been the legal instruments by which the law intervened in the home to provide that where the parent was unable or unwilling to perform the duties that nature, and law in consequence of nature, imposed on him, the child should have minimum care to prevent pauper-

ization. He, and, in appropriate cases, the town council, were required to act on their own authority as "overseer" or council and also to present, in particular cases, the problems to the court. This "master, mistress" and minor's law of 1822 may be regarded as the starting point of the legislative program that ended in 1944 in the establishment of the juvenile court.

...and, in appropriate cases, the Court should
be empowered to act as a court of appeal in "exceptional"
of cases and also to preside, in exceptional cases, the
proceedings in the Court. The "exceptional" cases should
law of 1933 and be regarded as the starting point at the
legislative program had ended in 1933 in the establish-
ment of the juvenile court.

CHAPTER III

CURRENT COURT PROCEDURE

On April 16th, 1944, there was passed an act establishing on July 1st of that year in the State of Rhode Island a court to be known as the "Juvenile Court." This court was given the "exclusive original jurisdiction" to determine all cases of adults involved in matters arising from paragraph C of section 14 (determination of paternity of any child born out of wedlock and support of such child)¹ and all cases of adults charged with

- A. Being responsible for or contributing to the delinquency, waywardness or neglect of any child;
- B. Desertion, abandonment, or failure to provide subsistence for any child dependent upon him for support;
- C. Neglect to send any child to school as required by law.²

Prior to the establishment of the juvenile court adults who were charged with neglect of their children appeared before the criminal session of any of the twelve district courts, depending upon where the offense was charged to have been committed. These offenses are embraced in the provisions of Chapter 425, Section 7 of the General Laws

1 R.I. Pub. L., 1944, Ch. 1441, s. 14, par. C.

2 Ibid., s. 17, par. A, B, C.

1. Applied to same any skills or talents as re-
quired by law.
2. Applied to same any skills or talents as re-
quired by law.
3. Applied to same any skills or talents as re-
quired by law.
4. Applied to same any skills or talents as re-
quired by law.
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quired by law.
9. Applied to same any skills or talents as re-
quired by law.
10. Applied to same any skills or talents as re-
quired by law.

Prior to the establishment of the juvenile court system, who were charged with neglect of their children appeared before the criminal division of any of the justice courts, depending upon where the offense was charged. In some cases, these offenses are handled in the criminal division of the county court.

U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

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of Rhode Island of 1938:

Every person having the custody or control of any child under the age of 18 years who shall abandon such child, or who shall treat such child with gross and habitual cruelty, or who shall wrongfully cause or permit such child to be an habitual sufferer for want of food, clothing, proper care or oversight, or who shall use or permit the use of such child for any wanton, cruel or improper purpose, or who shall cause or permit the home of such child to be the resort of lewd, drunken, wanton or dissolute persons, or who by reason of neglect, cruelty, drunkenness or depravity, shall render the home of such child a place in which it is unfit for such child to live, or who shall neglect or refuse to pay the reasonable charges for the support of such child, whenever such child shall be placed by him in the custody of, or be assigned by any court to, any individual, association or corporation, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall for every such offense be.....and such child may be proceeded against as a neglected child.....³

The juvenile court act empowers the judges to place adults appearing in that court under the supervision of probation counselors:

.....except as herein otherwise specifically provided, all provisions of this act relative to procedure in cases of children so far as practicable shall also be construed as applying to cases against adults for offenses committed against the laws of the state of Rhode Island within the purview of this act as herein set forth. Upon trial of such cases the court shall have power to impose such sentence as the law provides, or may suspend sentence and place on probation or by order impose upon such adult such duty as shall be deemed

³ R.I. G.L., Ch. 425, s. 7 (1938).

for the best interests of the child.....⁴

The act of 1944 also vested the juvenile court with the exclusive original jurisdiction in proceedings concerning any child residing in or being within the state who is (1) delinquent, (2) wayward, (3) dependent, (4) neglected, or (5) mentally defective or mentally disordered.⁵ Because of the nature of this study, the writer will define only what is meant by dependent and neglected children, using the definitions in the juvenile court act. For a more complete description of these terms the writer refers the reader to General Laws of Rhode Island of 1938, chapter 616, section 1.

First of all the reader must bear in mind that the term "child" means a person under eighteen years of age;⁶ that the term "adult" means a person eighteen years of age or older;⁷ and that "the singular shall be construed to include the plural, the plural the singular, and the masculine the feminine, when consistent with the intent of this act."⁸

4 R.I. Pub. L., 1944, Ch. 1441, s. 28.

5 Ibid., s. 14.

6 Ibid., s. 13.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

...the first of these is the fact that...

The first of these is the fact that...
The second is the fact that...
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The terms "dependent and/or neglected" mean and include any child

who is homeless or destitute or abandoned or dependent upon the public for support, or who has not the proper parental care or guardianship, or who habitually begs or receives alms, or whose home, by reason of neglect, cruelty, drunkenness or depravity on the part of the parent or person having custody or control of such child is an unfit place for such child, or any child under eight years of age found peddling in the streets, or any child found engaging in an occupation or being in a situation dangerous to life or limb or injurious to the health or well being of such child.⁹

Thus it is that on July 1st, 1944, there came into being in Rhode Island a state-wide juvenile court vested with the exclusive original jurisdiction in handling matters pertaining to the well-being of children and further vested with the exclusive original jurisdiction of adults who are charged with neglect of children - a jurisdiction which previously was held by the district courts of the state.

When a mother appears in juvenile court the judges (one chief judge and one associate judge) are faced with many problems and have very few resources to which they may turn. Generally the offender has been assisted by numerous social agencies and has been found to be unwilling or unable to accept case work services. As a usual rule, with the exception of emergencies, a pre-

9 Ibid.

court conference has been held wherein all the various interested social agencies have discussed with an intake supervisor of the court the various aspects of the case and have concluded that this woman or family is in need of court action. A report of this conference is made to the presiding judge. If, at the court hearing (closed session), sufficient evidence is presented to the court that the mother is guilty or has neglected her children, the presiding judge may, according to statute, fine or imprison her or do both. It is a rare case, indeed, where a neglectful mother would be able to pay an imposed fine. (In not one of the forty cases studied could the offender have done so.) A jail sentence would mean the removal of the mother from the community. It would block all hope for a definite period of time of enabling this mother to begin to rebuild her home if she so desired. It would place an additional stigma on her and on her children, a stigma which is ever so difficult to overcome or blot out. The community still is not accepting former inmates of penal institutions, especially former women inmates who were sent to jail for neglect of children. Too, imprisonment would mean more or less the severing of all family ties - ties which are almost if not completely broken by the time the mother appears in court. Occasionally the judge is able to turn to a social agency willing to extend further case work services

[illegible]

to this woman or family and he requests its help in more or less an authoritative manner and with the provision that reports of the progress of the case be made to the court from time to time and with the further admonition that they may request additional court action if there is need. Or he may turn to the statute which allows him to place this offender on probation and so dispose of the case in that manner.

If the offender is homeless or in need of rest, training or the like, she may be placed in the House of Good Shepherd; but only, however, if she is willing to be so placed, for the court has no jurisdiction to commit to that particular institution. Oftentimes this resource is interpreted to the offender and realizing that she is in need of the routine and peace that is offered by that institution, she agrees to be placed there for a period of time. In passing it might be well to state here that the same procedure is true in the matter of a violation of probation. The offender can be returned to court for violation of probation, and can be sentenced to the Women's Reformatory on the original offense if the judge so decides or she may be placed in the House of Good Shepherd in lieu of the Women's Reformatory, provided she gives her consent.

Oftentimes it is necessary for the court to act in the matter of the child - "such child may be proceeded against

to this woman or family and he removed the child in order to
less an authorized manner and with the provision that
regards of the progress of the case he made in the court
from time to time and with the provision that that
may request additional action if there is need. He
he may turn to the state which allows him to place the
offense on procedure and no offense of the case in that
manner.

If the offense is punished in the case of that, then
ing or the life, she may be placed in the house of God
Shedden; but only, however, if she is willing to be so
placed, for the court has no jurisdiction to commit it that
particular institution. Otherwise this provision is in-
cluded in the order and verified that she is not of
the family and hence she is ordered by that institution.
The order to be placed there for a period of time. In
passing it might be well to state that the same proce-
dure is taken in the matter of a violation of probation. The
offense can be punished by court for violation of proba-
tion, and can be punished by the court's authority in the
criminal offense if the judge so decides as she may be
placed in the house of God (Shedden) in lieu of the court's
authority, provided she gives her consent.
Sometimes it is necessary for the court to act in the
matter of the child - that child may be punished against

as a neglected child....."¹⁰

If, after a hearing on any petition, a child shall be found to be dependent or neglected.....the court shall by decree assign the custody of said child to any institution under the control of the state department of public welfare, or any of the private agencies, societies or institutions licensed by said department of public welfare to place such child in family homes or in special institutions, or to receive and provide temporary or continued care for such children for such period as shall seem fit to said court;.....said court may at any time for good cause shown, modify or revoke said decree.¹¹

Always the judge is guided by the Purpose and Basic Principles of the Juvenile Court Act quoted in Chapter I and in most instances he places the defendant on probation. He is mindful that the defendant has demonstrated in the past that she is unable or unwilling to properly care for her children. Still, he is willing, if it is at all possible, to extend to this woman the opportunity of reestablishing her home and regaining her children if the children have been removed from her care, or to allow her to remain in her home to provide proper care for her offspring under the supervision of a probation counselor or, in exceptional cases, with the assistance of another social agency.

¹⁰ R.I. G.L., Ch. 425, s. 7 (1938).

¹¹ Ibid., Ch. 616, s. 12.

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY BREAKDOWN

The breakdown of a family, either partially or completely, is becoming a common occurrence. Fortunately in many of these breakdowns there is one strong parent who, in one way or another, manages to meet these crises. This stronger parent may be an extremely resourceful person who does not find it necessary to seek outside help; or he may rely upon his parents, relatives or social agencies for supplementary assistance. At any rate, he manages to rear, protect, and train his children in such a manner that they become responsible, mature adults. Other families experiencing breakdowns are unable to meet their crises. Neither parent possesses those qualities and characteristics necessary for weathering them. They are unable or unwilling to turn to their own parents, relatives or social agencies for help, and the family disorganization continues to grow steadily worse. Of these only a few, however, come to the attention of the court for neglect of their children.

In considering the family breakdown which can ultimately lead to a violation of one of the most basic moral laws of society - neglect of one's children - there are many factors to consider. There is the neglect situation which

accompanies a legitimate union - marriage; and there is the neglect situation concomitant to an illegitimate relationship. The community is sympathetic if the neglect situation is the result of an illegitimate union and providing that the situation can be rectified in some way. No sympathy, or very little sympathy, is received by the neglect situation that comes about by a legitimate union; yet they have many factors in common. Intelligent people frequently think and feel quite strongly that these neglectful parents should be punished - "sent to jail" - and that their children should be taken away from them permanently. The public forgets, or does not think, that these parents - married or single - are, after all, only children grown older; that they are a product of their past life experiences; and that they generally transfer and react to present situations as they reacted in the past or as their parents or parent-substitutes did in like situations. People think of neglectful parents as they think of themselves in the light of their own experiences.

Yet home, marriage, and the family have different meanings for each of us.

Although each home must have its individuality, all satisfying homes meet certain fundamental needs and drives of the individual. These basic desires may be simply expressed as a desire for security; the desire to be socially accepted by certain groups or individuals; the desire to receive recognition for one's achievements and to feel that one's life is important to society;

recognized a legislative union - marriage; and when is the
 neglected situation considered as an illegitimate relation-
 ship. The community is sympathetic in the neglect situation
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 the situation can be rectified in some way. No sympathy,
 so very little sympathy, is received by the neglect situa-
 tion that comes about by a legislative union; yet they have
 many factors in common. Intelligent people frequently
 think and feel quite strongly that these neglected persons
 should be punished - "sent to jail" - and that their chil-
 dren should be taken away from them permanently. The public
 forgets, or does not think, that these persons - married or
 single - are, after all, only children given over; that
 they are a product of their past life experiences; and that
 they frequently transfer and need to present situations as
 they existed in the past or as their parents or grand-
 fathers did in like situations. People think of off-
 loaded persons as not think of themselves in the light of
 their own experiences.

Yet men, marriage, and the family have different
 meanings for each of us.

Although each home must have its individuality,
 all satisfying homes must contain fundamental
 needs and drive of the individual. These basic
 desires may be simply expressed as a desire for
 security; the desire to be socially accepted by
 certain groups as individuals; the desire to
 receive recognition for one's achievements and
 to feel that one's life is important to society;

and the desire for affection, not merely affection in general but the feeling there is one person in the world whose life is incomplete without you, to whom you belong and who belongs to you.¹

In other words, public opinion considers that these people have experienced a satisfying home, and therefore could provide such; or that if they did have an unsatisfying home, on the basis of such experience they should provide a satisfactory home. Flugel asserts that "relationships (and especially the filio-parental one) are capable of throwing light upon the subsequent marital relationship."² It has been demonstrated repeatedly that this relationship prepares a person for the experience of marriage. If these early relationships have been poor, if these neglectful mothers have not experienced satisfactory relationships somewhere in their lives, if they have been allowed to "grow up" rather than be intelligently nurtured, how, then, do they determine their standard for a good home and a good mother?

Maturity, mental efficiency, and emotional stability in adult life are influenced to a large extent by the control and the development of these qualities during childhood and adolescence.

1 Helen Mougey Jordan, Ed., You and Marriage, Ch. 1, p. 3.

2 J.C.Flugel, Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family, pref., p. VI.

and the desire for affection, not merely physical
in general but the feeling that as one grows up
the world grows life is impossible without you,
when you belong and who belong to you.

In other words, middle-class society considers that these
people have experienced a satisfaction in it, and therefore
should provide such; or that it just will have an automatic
in turn, on the basis of their experience that such a
side a satisfactory home. Physical aspects of "relation-
ships" (and especially the life-partnership) are capable
of throwing light upon the subject of marital relation-
ship. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that this rela-
tionship provides a person for the experience of marriage.
If these early relationships have been poor, it means that
later relationships have not experienced satisfactory relation-
ship somewhere in their lives, if they have been allowed
to "grow up" rather than be intelligently nurtured; now,
then, to try determine their standard for a good home and
a good society?

Marriage, marital affection, and emotional stability
in adult life are influenced to a large extent by the con-
dition and the development of these qualities during child-
hood and adolescence.

J. H. Murray, Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 1951, 10, 1.

U. S. Bureau of Census, Marital Status of the Adult Population, 1950, p. 11.

Even on a superficial view it is fairly obvious that, under existing social conditions the psychological atmosphere of the home life with the complex emotions and sentiments by, and dependent on, the various family relationships must exercise a very considerable effect on human character and development. Recent advances in the study of human conduct indicate that this effect is even greater than has been generally supposed; it would seem that, in adapting his attitude towards the members of his family circle, a child is at the same time determining to a large extent some of the principal aspects of his relations to his fellow men in general; and that an individual's outlook and point of view in dealing with many of the most important questions of human existence can be expressed in terms of the position he has taken with regard to the problems and difficulties arising within the relatively narrow world of the family.

At a very early age, the child begins to learn that it is "right" to love and obey its parents and "wrong" to resist the dictates of parental authority or to quarrel with its brothers or sisters; and these precepts are constantly inculcated with all the impressive suggestiveness which social, educational and religious influences have at their command. Of equal, if not greater, importance, however, is the tendency of the child to feel affection towards those with whom it lives in intimate relationship, to whom it is indebted for all or most of its material possessions and enjoyments and whom it in many cases admires and looks up to as the ideal of fully grown humanity to which it may itself one day attain.³

In short, the child identifies with his parents. As an adult he reflects the ideas, mode of behavior and so on of his parents. Identification is one of the most powerful forces in life. If his "ideal of fully grown humanity"

3 Ibid., Ch. 3, p. 24.

is defective, then he, too, will be defective. Here the writer wishes to point out that she is fully aware of the vast group who have suffered the same or even more unwholesome early life experiences, but who were able to identify themselves not with their defective, immoral or socially unacceptable parents, but with parent-substitutes or the like who provided them with suitable identification experiences.

Love or the lack of love, as well as good or poor identification, play an important part in one's development and one's later behavior in life:

The love of parents towards their child is assuredly one of the most essential and desirable features of a child's environment, if the child's moral and emotional development is to proceed harmoniously, spontaneously and easily. The lack of such love during the early years may give rise to a lasting sense of injury, a permanent feeling of a void or loss in some essential aspect of the emotional life, leading in its turn to an insatiable craving for the affection that was not forthcoming during that period of growth in which it was so urgently required; or again, it may cause a life-long bitterness or hostility towards the parents (and through them towards mankind in general) for having withheld the love, appreciation and encouragement which the young child so much desires and needs; or once again, it may lead to a turning inward of the child's affections when these meet with no response, so that the individual becomes self-centered and narcissistic, bestowing solely on himself the interest and affection which under happier circumstances would have been available for the pleasure and profit of those with whom he comes in contact; or finally it may lead to

is detective, that is, too, will be detective. But the
withstand to find out that is truly aware of the
was group who have suffered the same or even more
whenever only his experience, but who were able to
themselves not with this detective, instead of
socially managed able parents. But with parents who
or the like was provided them with suitable identification
experience.

Love or the lack of love, as well as good or poor
identification, play an important part in one's develop-
ment and one's later behavior in life.

The love of parents towards their child is an
essential part of the child's development. It is the
child's first and most important experience. It is the
process through which, spontaneously and early,
the child learns to love and to be loved. The child
gives rise to a feeling of being loved, a feeling
which is the basis of a love in some essential
aspect of the child's life. It is the love in the
child to an individual member of the family
and not to the family as a whole. The child
grows in love with the family as a whole. In
this, it may be said, is the child's first
experience towards the family (and through them
towards the world in general) and having already
the love, affection and understanding which
the young child so much needs and needs to
have. It is not in a selfish love of
the child's affection which is not with him
towards, so that the child's love is self-
centered and narcissistic. But the child's
love is the love and affection which is
directed towards the family and the world
for the pleasure and growth of those with whom
he grows in contact. It is this love that

serious delinquency, or be responsible for a whole career of crime.⁴

Briefly, it is the sum of the past life experiences that determines the present and future ones. The immature parents, parents unable to meet the family crises, are the ones that lack the proper preparation in the beginning for meeting them. This lack may, as a matter of fact, contribute to or precipitate the breakdown. Marriage requires emotional maturity, stability, character, resourcefulness, common sense, and a degree of intelligence. It is a union held together by mutual respect, affection, and common interests. It demands that both husband and wife fulfill certain responsibilities and perform certain duties. Children create additional responsibilities. These immature parents often are able to keep the home together reasonably well until too many children are born unto them. They then are unable to be persistent in their endeavor, particularly under the present economic conditions. They begin to quarrel; they are unable to manage financially; they lose interest in their home; and they often resort to the use of alcohol or to other deviations from moral living. They begin to seek help from friends, relatives, or social agencies; and many are thus enabled to take up again their

⁴ Ibid., Ch. 18, p. 221.

Firstly, it is not of the least importance
that attention be given to the family unit. The individual
parent, however, unable to meet the family needs, and the
fact that lack the proper preparation in the preparation for
social life. This lack may, as a matter of fact, contribute

to the development of the individual. Various factors
contribute to the individual's development, such as heredity,
environment, and a degree of intelligence. It is a social
factor of social aspect, education, and common sense.

Secondly, it is not of the least importance that
attention be given to the individual's development. This

development is a social factor. It is a social factor
which is often able to help the individual to develop
well until the very end of his life. They are
the factors to be considered in the development of the individual.
under the present social conditions. They begin to appear

and they are able to develop themselves; they are the
factors in their lives; and they are able to live on

alone or to develop themselves from social living. They

begin to develop from friends, relatives, or social
experiences; and they are able to live on their own

load. Others refuse to look at the matter realistically until they have lost their home and perhaps their children as well. Yet, if they have within them a spark of courage and a will to "make good," they can reestablish their home and regain their children.

land. Others refuse to look at the matter realistically
until they have lost their own and perhaps their children
as well. Yet, if they have vision even a spark of courage
and a will to "make good," they can recast their lives
and regain their dignity.

CHAPTER V

THE GROUP AS A WHOLE

Before presenting the case illustrations the writer feels that it is well first to discuss the group studied as a whole.

This group of forty women appeared before the juvenile court charged with "neglect of child or children," depending upon the number of children involved in the situation. This charge, "neglect of children," however, as shown in Chapter III, page 18, is broad in its scope. For instance, it may mean that a parent, parents, or lawful guardians "failed to provide proper care or oversight for their children," or that they "neglected to send their children to school," or that they "abandoned their children," and so on. They may, as a matter of fact, have erred or failed in more than one of these areas and not be so charged; or, on the other hand, they may appear on a number of these charges.

In the group studied it was found that fourteen of the women appeared in court because they "failed to give proper care or oversight" to their children; that twenty so appeared for "abandonment" of their children; that four were so charged because they "failed to support" their children;

THE GROUP AT THE BRIDGE

Before presenting the case illustrations of the bridge
level, it is well to state that the group is
as a whole.

This group of four women appeared before the committee
and stated that they had been advised by the committee
that they were to be advised in the afternoon.
This change, "because of illness," however, as given to
Committee III, page 18, is stated in the record. The committee
it may seem that a general, general, or general committee
"failed to provide proper care of themselves for their self-
group," as they had "failed to read their own
record," or that they "failed to read their own
record," as a matter of fact, they were of the
in some that they had been advised and not as appearing: or,
on the other hand, they may appear to be a group of women
changes.

In the group, studied in the last part of the
women appeared in their presence they "failed to give proper
care or attention" to their children; they were to ap-
pear for "attention" of their children; they were to ap-
pear in the presence of their children; they were to ap-

and that the remaining two had "failed to send their children to school." In all forty cases evidence was presented in court to bear out that particular charge. It is interesting to note, however, that all of these situations contained one common phase of neglect, although only fourteen were so charged - that they "failed to provide proper care or oversight." The twenty who appeared in court because of "abandonment" did not previously provide proper care or oversight. None were adequate mothers who merely "up and left" their children. The neglect situations were chronic, and the precipitating factor which led to court action was the ultimate act of abandonment. The same was true of the two who were charged with "failure to send their children to school," as was also the case with the four remaining women who were charged with "failure to support their child or children." Three of these remaining four women placed their illegitimate children in foster homes through a children's placing agency shortly after their birth. Thereafter they not only failed to "pay board" for these children, they made no attempt to visit them or to inquire for their welfare through the agency. The fourth mother placed her legitimate child likewise one year after his birth. She also showed no interest whatsoever in her child. Prior to this placement, she, too, had

presented a chronic neglect situation relative to his care or oversight, and upon her husband's imprisonment immediately applied for foster home placement.

Thirty-one of these women had been married: six were living with their husbands at the time of arraignment; two were divorced - one having remarried; eight were separated due to their husbands' induction into the armed forces, three of whom were reunited upon their husbands' return, two of whom were ultimately divorced, one of whom was widowed, and two continued to live apart from their husbands; three were widows at the time of the court hearing, and remained such; and the last twelve were separated from their husbands, and continued more or less in that status throughout the period studied. Their status is described as "continued more or less in that status," because both husband and wife were ambivalent in their feelings towards each other and intermittently would be reunited for very short periods of time.

The average age of these women at the time of their court appearance was twenty-nine years. The nine unmarried mothers (ranging in age from twenty to thirty-two years) had an average age of twenty-four, and a median age of twenty-three. For the married women (ages from nineteen to forty years) the average age was thirty years, with

presented a similar picture relative to the same
in general, and only the highest percentage
is applied for other cases.

Thirty-one of these women had been married; six were
living with their husbands at the time of admission; two
were divorced - one having remarried; eight were separated
due to their husbands' infidelity into the same four
groups of whom were married with their husbands' consent,
two of whom were slightly ill, one of whom was
ill, and the remaining six were with their husbands
and were living at the time of the study. One
and remained with her husband who was separated from
their husbands, and continued with her in the same
group. Their status in general was "married with or
without consent or in the same group." The women were
married and were living in the same group. Each of the
other and interestingly would be included for the
same group of time.

The average age of these women at the time of admission
was twenty-five years. The age distribution
was (starting in age from twenty to thirty-five years)
had an average age of twenty-four, and a median age of
twenty-three. The married women (ages from admission
to thirty years) the average age was thirty years, with

thirty-three or thirty-four being the most common age. Thirty-eight of these women were white, one was American Negro, and the other was colored Portuguese. The age and marital status of the group is summarized as follows:

TABLE I.

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS AT TIME OF COURT
APPEARANCE OF FORTY FEMALE ADULT OFFENDERS
PLACED ON PROBATION FOR NEGLECT OF CHILDREN
BY R.I. JUVENILE COURT FROM JULY 1, 1944,
TO JULY 1, 1947

Age	Marital Status					
	Single	Married			Divorced	Widowed
		Living with Husband	Separated from Husband By Reason of Service	Other Reasons		
19-21	3	0	1	0	0	0
22-24	4	1	2	2	0	0
25-27	1	0	1	3	0	0
28-30	0	1	1	2	0	0
31-33	1	2	1	3	0	0
34-36	0	2	1	1	0	1
37-39	0	0	0	0	2	1
40-	0	0	1	1	0	1
Totals	9	6	8	12	2	3

An important factor to note in this study is that the neglect by these forty women affected the lives of one hundred and forty children - an average of 3.5 children per woman. The unmarried mothers lowered the average number of children per mother, since six unmarried mothers had only one child each, one had two children, and only two had three children. The average number of children affected by the

married mothers is 4.1 children, since the number per mother ranges from one to nine children.

Eighty-two of the hundred and forty children affected by these neglect situations were found to be neglected or dependent children prior to or at the time of their mothers' court hearings. Sixty-seven of these children were committed to the Children's Division, a state agency for the care of such children. The custody of each of the other fifteen children was given to other social agencies, such as a children's protective agency, a children's placing agency, or the Diocesan (Catholic) Bureau of Social Services for placement in its various institutions.

Of the remaining fifty-eight, thirteen additional children having been found "wayward or delinquent" were removed from their homes prior to or at about the time of their mothers' court hearing and were detained at either the Rhode Island Training School for Boys or the Rhode Island Training School for Girls. Two of the children were found to be mentally deficient and were committed to Exeter School, the state school for the feeble-minded. Forty-three children were allowed to remain in their own homes in the care of their six mothers: thirty-nine children (five mothers) being supervised by a probation counselor, and four children (one mother) by a private agency. The following table shows the disposition of these children:

TABLE II.

DISPOSITION OF THE HUNDRED AND FORTY CHILDREN
OF THE FORTY MOTHERS PLACED ON PROBATION FOR
NEGLECT OF CHILDREN BY R.I. JUVENILE COURT
FROM JULY 1, 1944, TO JULY 1, 1947

Disposition	No. of Children
Committed to Children's Division	67
Custody given to other social agencies	15
Detained at R.I. Training Schools	13
Committed to Exeter School for feeble-minded	2
Remained at home under supervision of probation counselor	39
Remained at home under supervision of private agencies	4
Total children	140

Of the sixty-seven children who were committed to the Children's Division, sixteen were later returned to their (three) homes; of the thirteen detained at the training schools, nine were returned to their (five) homes; of the fifteen children placed with other social agencies, seven were returned to their (three) homes; and of the forty-three children who remained at home, twenty (representing four families) were later removed from their homes, fourteen children (representing three families of which one

TABLE 1.

STATISTICS OF THE BOARD AND COUNTY CHILDREN
IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA FOR
THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1917
FROM JAN. 1, 1917, TO JAN. 1, 1918

Disposition	No. of Children
Committed to Children's Division	57
Custody given to other social agencies	13
Placed at S. I. Training Schools	17
Committed to State School for Feeble-minded	2
Admitted at home under supervision of probation department	39
Admitted at home under supervision of police agencies	1
Total children	140

Of the fifty-seven children who were committed to the
Children's Division, fifteen were later returned to their
(former) homes; of the thirteen detained at the Training
Schools, nine were returned to their (former) homes; of the
thirteen children placed with other social agencies, seven
were returned to their (former) homes; and of the forty-
three children who remained at home, twenty (negatives) four
(four families) were later removed from their homes, four-
teen children (representing three families) of which one

mother was unmarried) were committed to the Children's Division because of their mothers' desertion, and six children (representing one family) were placed in foster homes temporarily because of eviction proceedings which left them homeless, but were later returned to their parents on reestablishment of the home. The remaining four groups of children who stayed with their mothers have continued to live at home with their mothers who have achieved fair adjustment. This study shows, therefore, that of the forty families that appeared in court, thirty-two families suffered the removal of all or most of their children prior to or at the time of the initial court appearance of their mothers. Ten of the families later were reunited, one being that of an unmarried mother. Twenty-two of the families continued in their separation, eight of which are the families of unmarried mothers. In this group fifteen mothers, five of whom are unmarried, have shown no interest in their children since their separation; and of the seven who have shown "little interest," two are unmarried mothers. One married mother remained separated from her husband but regained her children. In summary, twenty-five of the forty families suffered complete breakdowns; twenty-two prior to or at the time of the court hearings, and three after being placed on probation.

about the committee) were classified in the following manner:
The first category of cases is those in which the
committee (consisting of the local and the
house committee members of the local government) has
acted immediately, but where the action is
pending on the recommendation of the house. The second group
of cases are those in which the committee has
acted to limit its own work with the house and have ordered
their adjustment. This group shows, however, that of the
forty families that appeared in court, thirty-two families
submitted the report of all of their children
prior to or at the time of the initial court appearance
of their children. Ten of the families later were re-
called, and were found to be in arrears. Twenty-two
of the families continued in their arrears, eight of
which are the result of economic hardship. In this
group fifteen families, five of whom are unemployed, have
been an interest in their children since their arrest;
and of the seven who have them "little interest," two are
unemployed women. One married woman remained unemployed
from her husband and reported her children. In summary,
twenty-five of the forty families returned complete re-
ports; twenty-two of the thirty who did not report at the
hearing, and were later found in arrears.

It seems well to note here that of this group of forty mothers, twenty-one were without any homes and were more or less transient at the time of their court appearance. In this group the mothers either had always lived in furnished rooms or had broken up their homes and lost their meager furnishings - belongings that in most cases were described as completely deteriorated and beyond repair.

It would be comforting to think that a group of women who so neglected their children as to appear before the juvenile court would be mental defects or of a very low intelligence. It has been found, however, by means of individual and group intelligence tests, that twenty-six (twenty-one married, five unmarried) of these women were functioning at a normal or dull normal level of intelligence (fourteen of normal intelligence and twelve of dull normal intelligence); that only eleven (nine married, two unmarried) were functioning at a sub-normal level; and but three (one married, two unmarried) were functioning at a moron level of intelligence - the lowest having an intelligence quotient of fifty. There is an interesting fact to point out here: the woman with the intelligence quotient of fifty is the unmarried mother of two children; and since being placed on probation she has managed to work quite regularly, contributing to the support of her children, one of whom was recently adopted; she has been assisted

by her mother who has cared for the children, and she has had only intermittent financial help from social agencies during periods of unemployment.

These observations would indicate that these neglect situations were not the result of a lack of intelligence but rather of other factors. Only one case of neglect was found to be brought on by the parents' inability to manage a family adequately. Both of these parents functioned at a sub-normal level of intelligence. Both lacked the qualities necessary for adequate parenthood: they were lax, easy-going, unresourceful people who were unable to master financial management, resulting in inadequate food and clothing; who failed to take full advantage of community health services made available to them; and who lacked even the ability to maintain ordinary cleanliness and order in their home. As a matter of fact, they were referred to the court because utter inefficiency had resulted in school-attendance problems for their children. In considering solely the thirty-one married women, it is found that in twenty-eight of the cases there was the problem of excessive use of alcohol by either the mother alone or by both parents. Twenty-two of these mothers merely used alcohol excessively, whereas six were definitely alcoholic. It was also found that immorality or promiscuity existed in various degrees together with the profuse use of alcohol: eighteen

It has been said that the children, and the few
and only interested financial help from social agencies
during periods of unemployment.

These observations would indicate that these neglect
attitudes were not the result of a lack of intelligence
but rather of a lack of interest. Only one case of neglect was
found to be caused by the parents' inability to manage
a family financially. Some of these parents had been at
a somewhat level of intelligence. But lacked the ability
also necessary for adequate education; they were lazy, wasteful,
going, unsociable people who were unable to enter into
civil conversation, resulting in inadequate food and clothing;
who failed to take full advantage of community social services
which were available to them; and who lacked even the
ability to maintain ordinary cleanliness and order in their
homes. As a matter of fact, they were referred to the courts
because their indifference had resulted in school truancy
problems for their children. In considering solely the
thirty-one neglected women, it is found that in twenty-nine
of the cases there was no problem of excessive use of
alcohol or other drug habit. About 10% of the women were
habitual or occasional users of these habits. It was also
found that twenty-one of the women were alcoholics. It was also
found that twenty-one of the women were alcoholics. It was also
found that twenty-one of the women were alcoholics. It was also

of these women presented long histories of promiscuity. Of the unmarried mothers, three were heavy drinkers, one was alcoholic, and eight were definitely promiscuous. Illness of the mother, physical and mental, was present in two situations: one of the mothers ultimately became alcoholic and promiscuous, and the other, already alcoholic and promiscuous, became psychotic and was committed to the State Hospital for Mental Diseases.

Emotional immaturity and instability were found to be typical characteristics of the group. All forty women showed much evidence of emotional immaturity and thirty-eight were found to be extremely unstable. Four of the married women were sent ultimately by the court to Charles V. Chapin Hospital, Providence, R.I., on temporary care papers for a period of study, and three of these were diagnosed upon discharge as "psychopathic personalities with asocial and amoral trends." The fourth, as mentioned above, was found to be psychotic and was committed to the State Hospital for Mental Diseases.

Marital discord was very prevalent in these families with the exception of two of the women living with their husbands, and two of the three widows. One of the women, living with her husband, lacked the qualities necessary for an adequate mother, as also did her husband lack the necessary qualities to be an adequate father who could

of these women presented long histories of psychomotor
of the untreated patients, many very heavy criminals, one
was alcoholic, and others were definitely psychotic. The
most of the women, physical and mental, was psychotic in
two instances: one of the patients of the early years also
had a and promiscuous, and the other, already alcoholic
and promiscuous, became psychotic and was committed to the
State Hospital for Mental Diseases.

Psychiatric instability and instability were found to be
typical characteristics of the group. All these women
showed some evidence of emotional instability and abnor-
mal were found to be extremely unstable. Most of the
married women were sent ultimately to the court to
Charles F. Haight Hospital, Springfield, Ill., on grounds
were found for a period of years, and some of these were
discharged upon diagnosis as "psychotic personality"
with alcohol and mental trouble. The finding, as mentioned
above, was found to be psychotic and was committed to the
State Hospital for Mental Diseases.

Various disorders were very prominent in these families
with the exception of two of the women living with their
husbands, and two of the three who were. One of the women
living with her husband, had the delirious psychosis
for an extended period, he also did not maintain her and
necessarily qualified to be an adequate father and could

assume the responsibilities of his family of nine children. The other woman and her husband were extremely companionable but were heavy drinkers. It is feasible that one of the widows would have been an adequate mother had she not been separated from her husband by his entry into military service where he met his death. Records disclosed that this man possessed much ego strength that supplemented and reinforced his wife's weak ones, and which, possibly, if continually afforded, would have prevented the neglect situation. Although the second widow, Mrs. X, enjoyed an excellent relationship with her husband, it is doubtful, considering her many delinquencies before her marriage, whether she would have been able to continue to be an adequate mother had her husband lived. This widow's mother was alcoholic and had a long history of promiscuity. Mrs. X was extremely fond of her mother, visited her often, and may have eventually followed in her footsteps despite her husband's efforts to prevent it. Also, Mr. X was much older than his wife, and as he grew older and as their interests grew apart, Mrs. X, because of her "psychopathic personality with amoral and asocial trends," could quite easily have reached her present position anyway.

All but one of this group received inadequate income for long periods of time. The one exception, Mrs. B, had enjoyed a good standard of living before her husband's

...the responsibility of his family at this point.
The other women and the children were extremely distressed.
This was very obvious. It is possible that one of
the women would have been an exception, but she had
been rejected from her position of his early life, and
she was not his mother. Her family was not
this was because she was a woman and a single woman and
relationship with him was not, and which, possibly, if
continually allowed, would have prevented the mother
attention. Although the second woman, Mrs. A, enjoyed an
excellent relationship with her husband, it is doubtful
considering her own relationship with her husband.
Whether she would have been able to continue to be so
dependent upon him was a matter of doubt. This woman's mother
was a woman and had a large family of children.
Mrs. A was extremely kind to her mother, and her father,
and her mother was very kind to her husband and her
husband's mother. Mrs. A was very kind to her mother
often from his side, and he was very kind to his mother.
It was very kind, Mrs. A, because of her relationship
personally with her mother and her mother's mother.
Finally, she was very kind to her mother's mother.
All but one of this group received instruction in
for long periods of time. The one exception, Mrs. B, had
enjoyed a long relationship with her husband's

entry into the service, but upon his separation from the family, Mrs. B placed Jane and worked as a waitress, earning a very substantial income that was supplemented by a monthly service pay allotment from the government. Several other women received a steady and almost adequate income through service allotments. Because of unpaid back bills and the purchase of many long-needed items, however, they were unable, as usual, to make ends meet. Indeed, the entire group had been known to social agencies from one to sixteen years prior to their court appearances. The average length of time that these families had been known to social agencies was eight years. A further breakdown shows that the average was 5.6 years for the unmarried mothers, and 8.7 for the married mothers.

The majority of these married women lacked the foresight or good fortune to chose adequate husbands; instead they seemed to be attracted by immature, unstable individuals quite like themselves.

An important factor entering into this particular study was the period of study: from July 1st, 1944, to July 1st, 1947. This was a period when the entire world was completely upset: World War II raged and it ended; husbands were separated from their families who sorely needed them; very dependent wives were forced into independence without any preparation - they were forced not

[illegible]

only to be independent but to become father and mother for their many children; housing became short; families were evicted or even worse - crowded with other families; mothers began to work, leaving their children without adequate care; and mothers, married at a very early age, never having been allowed to "work out their growing pains," and who were still more or less adolescent, became true adolescents carried away by the false gaiety of the world as well as by the lavish attention paid by the numerous servicemen who jammed the streets, theatres, parks, and cafes in Providence. Many child-neglect situations were aggravated by and even precipitated by this era. The writer is certain that, if these conditions had not existed, there would have been a much smaller group charged with the abandonment of children during this period. Perhaps eventually these people would have appeared in court, but probably for "failure to provide proper care or oversight."

The study of the background of these women discloses that twenty-four of the forty women experienced some type of breakdown in their own early life experience, that thirteen came from homes in which one or both of the parents were immoral, that seventeen of their mothers were inadequate as mothers and housekeepers, that thirty-three received no religious education and the other seven had formed no real association in this respect, that the same

thirty-three women received little or no moral training (they were brought up by parents who, being either amoral or immoral themselves, were totally incapable of inculcating moral responsibility in their children), that thirty-two had received nominal educational opportunities, that sixteen had one or two alcoholic parents, that two had psychotic parents, and that the entire group had received no training or preparation for marriage. Thirteen of the thirty-one marriages were forced ones. Not one in the group enjoyed what is considered a wholesome growing-up period; none looked back on their childhood with pleasure, but rather with sorrow mixed with feelings of rejection, a lack of love, a lack of security, and no opportunity of obtaining recognition. Not one woman in this group had attained either adulthood or motherhood with clear, adequate concepts of the moral, social, and religious responsibilities that must be exercised by mothers towards their children, their husbands, and their community.

CHAPTER VI

CASE PRESENTATIONS AND ANALYSIS

In the discussion of the group studied as a whole, it is impossible to choose one or two factors in each case and cite them as the causes for a particular woman's appearance in court for the neglect of her children. The family breakdown is rather the result of a combination of many factors; likewise it is the combination of many factors that has facilitated the reestablishment of the home and the reuniting of the families; it is a combination of many factors that prevented the vast majority of these offenders, despite their court experience, from maintaining even an interest in their children; it is a combination of many factors which precipitated the situations of these nine unmarried mothers of whom eight made no progress whatsoever in providing for the care or welfare of their children. Some of these combined factors are peculiar to all of these women, and other factors predominate in a few, but the result, nevertheless, is approximately the same.

In the presentation of the following cases, four examples from the group studied have been selected to show not only the most common combination of factors leading to the mothers' neglect of their children or the most typical

reactions of the mothers to the factors that face them, but also to enable the reader to appreciate the forces that converge upon a woman of ordinary mental and physical resources, overpowering her and leading her into asocial conduct. The first case is that of a woman and her husband who found, with the assistance of social agencies, the strength to overcome those forces and those combined factors that contributed to their neglect situation. This case is presented first because it supplies a medium of comparison with those cases that follow where final adjustment was not achieved. The second case is that of a typical unmarried mother, which reveals not only the problems that confront the woman, whose type of case represents but 22½% of the total cases studied, but gives the reader the opportunity of examining the tools with which this young woman is equipped to combat her problems. The third case is an example of the most common combination of causative factors in the group studied, and describes a married woman, living alone, whose problems are those of at least half of the group studied, and whose reactions are those most commonly encountered in this study. Her failure to succeed in overcoming the forces opposing her is at once understandable to the reader. The last case is that of a married couple whose instability leads them into such intermittent separation and reconciliation that it is

small wonder to the reader that their court appearance did not occur sooner, and represents the type of case that usually involves the greatest number of children, that is almost invariably unsuccessfully closed, and which is, therefore, the most important in the light of social case work.

The first case involving a family breakdown caused the removal from the home of five of the six children, four of whom were later returned. The combined factors included the excessive use of alcohol, emotional immaturity and instability, the lack of proper training for marriage, and early life experiences which were not conducive to successful parenthood - all the factors existing in both mother and father. Both came from families that presented histories of alcoholism. The mother had chosen a husband comparable to herself - one who strayed easily from the responsibilities of parenthood.

Case 1. Mrs. Yew, a thirty-three year old white woman, and mother of six children, and her husband appeared before the juvenile court on the charge of neglect of children in that they "failed to provide proper care or oversight." Five of the children had been found to be suffering from physical neglect and the lack of much needed medical care. The sixth child, an idiot, suffered from the lack of the most basic care. The Yews were referred to court by the Rhode Island Child Service, a children's protective agency. Rhode Island Child Service had worked with the family intermittently during the past three years, since numerous complaints concerning the

Yews' activities, and consequential neglect of their children, were received.

At the time of their court appearance, Mr. and Mrs. Yew and their eleven-year old son were living in a two-room furnished flat situated in a large apartment house of questionable reputation. Five of the children had been removed from the home by Rhode Island Child Service. Both Mr. and Mrs. Yew presented histories of excessive drinking. Mr. Yew was an irregular worker. Mrs. Yew was found to be an easygoing person and a very incompetent housekeeper. There was no history of marital discord. Both Mr. and Mrs. Yew were placed on probation - Mr. Yew under the supervision of a male counselor, and Mrs. Yew under the supervision of a female counselor. Four of the six children were found to be neglected and their custody was given temporarily to Rhode Island Child Service. The fifth, the idiot, was committed to Exeter School, a state school for the feebleminded. The oldest child, Robert, who was living with his parents at the time of the court hearing, was allowed to so remain, and no court action was taken concerning him.

Mrs. Yew was one of four children, of normal intelligence, who completed the third year of high school. Prior to her marriage she demonstrated instability in that she was a very irregular worker. Since her marriage she has not been gainfully employed outside her home. Mrs. Yew's social background was poor. Her mother was of questionable reputation and presented a history of alcoholism. It was not uncommon for mother and daughter to drink excessively together. Mrs. Yew had received minimum care as a child and as an adolescent. She had maintained a close relationship with her mother, not completely emancipating herself, and she transferred these dependent feelings to her husband and her mother-in-law. Since marriage the Yews were known to numerous social agencies, as were their respective parents.

Under supervision the Yews gradually improved their living conditions. Both gave up their

COPIES OF THE REPORT, AND OF THE REPORT OF THE
COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE,

At the time of their court appearance, Mr. and Mrs. Yaw and their daughter and son were living in a two-story Colonial style residence in a quiet suburban town of approximately 15,000 people. Five of the children had been removed from the home by their father, Child Services, Mrs. and Mrs. Yaw presented a picture of a happy family. The two were married in 1954. The son, who was then 12, was an average person and a very intelligent student. There was no history of mental illness. Mrs. and Mrs. Yaw were married in 1954. The son, who was then 12, was an average person and a very intelligent student. There was no history of mental illness. Mrs. and Mrs. Yaw were married in 1954. The son, who was then 12, was an average person and a very intelligent student. There was no history of mental illness.

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These activities are being carried out in cooperation with the local authorities and the community.

use of alcohol, and after one year of supervision, the family, with the exception of the idiot, was reunited, and the resultant improvement permitted closing of the case.

It is seen that alcoholism, emotional immaturity and instability, the lack of proper training for marriage, and the lack of opportunity to form wholesome identifications played important parts in this family's breakdown. However, life experiences of the two were such that they were able, with supportive case work and much reassurance, to reestablish their home and reunite their family. Mr. and Mrs. Yew, despite their unwholesome life experiences, did experience relationships that were satisfying - relationships that fostered within them a love for their children. Neither had experienced rejection, and to them children were born to be loved "regardless come what will." Reinforced by this powerful emotion the two parents were able to resolve their problems.

The remarkable achievement in this situation - the parents' complete abstinence from alcohol - was brought about by sublimation aided by a series of fortunate circumstances. The Yews had received little religious training, but near where they lived was a Salvation Army center that they, being social people, turned to as a "place to go in their free time." The organization offered many activities which appealed to the Yews and which satisfied

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their social yearnings. The Salvation Army was friendly, and offered companionship and solace. The leaders accepted the Yews wholeheartedly and made them feel that they had something to contribute to this group. The leaders' job was so well done that shortly before the close of the case Mr. Yew had appeared on the radio in behalf of the organization.

This is an unusual case because final adjustment of this kind is not typical of the group studied. It shows clearly that if parents do love their young, they can provide and care for them despite their previous serious neglect. Finally, it is well to note here that both parents possessed a "healthy, wholesome respect for authority." This was their first court experience and they were not "court hardened."

This study included nine unmarried mothers. The unmarried mother is faced with many problems which are not akin to the married mother's. She is first of all faced with the social stigma of bearing a child out of wedlock. It is most difficult to face this social disapproval and generally the child is rejected even before it is born. Indeed, certain emotional reactions are set fully in motion by these social obstacles, and there are the deep underlying psychological factors which enter into the situation. A complicated combination of psychic motives

is present. The feeling of solitude, increased by the lack of tenderness in the environment, is conducive to uncontrolled sexual indulgence leading to motherhood. Unfortunately for many of these women, their passive needs are unsatisfied and they become pregnant compulsively again and again. The unconscious motives that press for the first pregnancy press for repetition.

Case 2. Helen, a twenty-three year old unmarried white girl and mother of one child, appeared before the juvenile court on charge of neglect of child in that she did abandon such child. She was referred by the social service department of the Sophia Little Home, a home for unmarried mothers. Helen had given birth to Joan at Sophia Little Home three years prior to court appearance and she had been assisted by the social worker from the home in planning for Joan. Joan had been placed with Helen's adoptive parents. For two years Helen had accepted the responsibility of Joan. She then left home and child and after seven months was found illicitly living with John Brown, a man of criminal reputation, in a furnished apartment. At this time Helen was approximately five months pregnant by another than John Brown. Joan was found neglected and was committed to the Children's Division and Helen was placed on probation with the understanding that she would be sent to the House of Good Shepherd until after the birth of the second child.

Helen was an illegitimate child. Her mother rejected and neglected her and while an infant she was hospitalized for malnutrition. Upon discharge from the hospital she was placed in a foster home. Her mother did not visit her nor did she contribute to her support. At the age of twelve Helen was adopted by her foster parents. The adoptive home was good physically but her adoptive parents were unable to offer Helen a satisfactory relationship. She was described as a "lone wolf" and this tendency persisted in

[illegible]

adulthood. Helen felt rejected and discriminated against in relation to her two adoptive sisters. Since adolescence she was a behavior problem. Helen was untruthful, irresponsible, and occasionally was accused of stealing; and later she was considered to be promiscuous. She was of normal intelligence (I.Q. ninety) and she completed the third year of high school. At the age of twenty she left home because of "family restrictions" and immediately became pregnant.

Helen adjusted poorly at the House of Good Shepherd. Four months after placement she gave birth to a son, John. As she was not interested in him, and was unable to support him, he was found to be a dependent child and was committed to the Children's Division. Two months later Helen was released from the House of Good Shepherd and was continued on probation. Since that time she has worked regularly and has maintained herself adequately in the community. Although a court order was made for her to contribute to the children's support, she has neglected in many instances to do so, and it is clear that whatever payments are made are brought about by the court order. Helen has maintained no interest in her children.

This neglect situation by an unmarried mother was brought about by a number of factors. Helen was an immature and unstable person. Because of her adoptive parents' personality characteristics, Helen was allowed to grow up emotionally starved. She "always felt rejected," she was a "lone wolf." Her conflict was outwardly apparent in adolescence by the presence of her antisocial behavior. Her environment, like the eight other unmarried mothers, lacked tenderness. Coupled with the facts that they all lacked ego strengths, and were more or less conditioned by early

life experiences, they were easy prey for sexual activities.

The next case is selected because it is representative of the group of fourteen married women who remained separated "more or less" from their husbands, and of whom ten showed no interest in their children upon their removal from their care and oversight. A common characteristic of this group is that they are "homeless" at the time of court appearance. They have formed no permanent ties. The majority use alcohol excessively and are promiscuous. All lack any concept of the extent of their responsibilities brought on by their marriage. None were adequate housekeepers or managers. All lacked the ability to face facts realistically but continued to run away from them as was their habit before the removal of the children from their care.

Case 3. Mrs. Hague, a thirty-year old white woman and mother of four children, appeared before the juvenile court on the charge of neglect of children in that she did abandon them. She was referred to court by Aid to Dependent Children, which agency spasmodically assisted the family for five years before court appearance. Prior to the court hearing Mrs. Hague left her children without providing adequate care for them. She had presented a chronic neglect situation for the preceding four years and a children's protective agency was active from time to time. She maintained an inadequate home and gave little care to her children. She had a questionable reputation and was known to be a heavy drinker. Mr. Hague was also a very inadequate person. He was a most irregular worker and a very heavy drinker who was most abusive to his wife and children when intoxicated. He was unwilling to assume the role of father. Much marital friction

existed in the home since shortly after marriage and, periodically, Mrs. Hague would leave her home and family. On several occasions she started divorce proceedings. As Mrs. Hague presented a problem for a long period of time, the case was continued for disposition and, in the interim, she was sent to Charles V. Chapin Hospital for mental and physical examinations. At the initial court hearing, however, the children were found to be neglected and were committed to the Children's Division. Upon discharge from the hospital Mrs. Hague reappeared in court and was placed on probation.

Mrs. Hague was one of twelve children. Her early life was most unwholesome. Both parents were alcoholic and neglectful of their children. At the age of nine Mrs. Hague was found to be a neglected child and was committed to the Children's Division. Later she was placed in a foster home by this agency. Here she was a behavior problem and presently she was returned to the Children's Center, a home for neglected and dependent children maintained by the Children's Division. Her antisocial behavior continued and she was placed for a period of training, by the Children's Division, at the Home of Good Shepherd. Upon discharge she returned voluntarily to the Children's Center and there she remained until she reached her majority. Mrs. Hague functioned at a dull normal level of intelligence and she had completed the first year of high school. Her work record was erratic. Prior to the court order for study at the hospital Mrs. Hague had been a patient there in the psychopathic ward on two occasions. On the first admission she was diagnosed as "psychotic"; on the second admission the diagnosis was "psychoneurotic." The latest study revealed her to be "without mental disorder, psychopathic personality, asocial and amoral."

When Mrs. Hague was placed on probation she was separated from her husband. Her home had been broken up and what little furniture she possessed had been given to her sisters.

She believed, she stated, that her husband was the cause of all her difficulties, and that the way to solve her problems was to remain away from him. Being homeless, she went to live, first, with her mother, leaving after a short period of time upon being involved in an argument with her mother and brother. She began to live at various rooming houses or with her sisters, all of whom were as unstable as she. She obtained a number of jobs but was unable to work steadily. On several occasions she returned to her husband. She rarely contacted or visited her children, offering the excuse that she "didn't want to make them unhappy." She made no attempt to reestablish a home. She was resistant to case work by the very nature of her personality and she lacked any insight into her situation. She refused to look realistically at the matter and it is extremely doubtful that she will ever re-establish a home and regain her children.

Again it is a combination of factors that have contributed to this family breakdown. Both parents used alcohol excessively; both were immature and unstable; both lacked the proper qualifications for parenthood. It is interesting to note that Mrs. Hague has completely identified with her mother and has followed in her footsteps regardless of the fact that she had experienced a similar breakdown when she was a youngster. Although Mrs. Hague was removed from her home when only nine years old, and remained away until she was twenty-one, she possessed a strong tie to her mother - a tie which has contributed to this breakdown. In passing the writer would like to state that she knows several of her sisters. All are going through similar experiences but to date have not appeared in court.

The last case presentation has been selected because it is typical of a particular type of women who very easily might have been adequate mothers if they had been fortunate enough to choose stable husbands. Being members of that vast group of people who are extremely dependent on their loved ones, who are easily influenced by them - either for better or worse - and having chosen unstable husbands, they become unstable themselves. Some are at first given the needed support by their mothers or mother-substitutes, and when stripped of their assistance for one reason or another they begin to deteriorate. This situation, as are so many of them, is influenced by the excessive use of alcohol by the husband. Feeling left out of things, having strong dependent needs, craving love and attention, the wives begin to drink. The family's income is spent on liquor; the children are not properly fed or clothed, and are continually subjected to the control of inebriate parents; the home is neglected; the family comes to the attention of the police and ultimately to the attention of the court. Because of this type of woman's feeling for her children, which is genuine, this is the type of family where children are usually kept in the home as long as possible.

Again a number of factors in a particular configuration are found. Here ego strengths are extremely weak, and dependent upon profuse love from husband - ego strengths

in the home as far as possible.

This is the type of family where children are usually kept
type of woman's feeling for her children, which is genuine,
likewise, in the situation of the home. Because of this
feared; the family comes to the attention of the police and
feared to the control of inadequate parents; the home is con-
sistent and properly led on the whole, and its children are
frank. The family's income is spent on liquor; the children
and needs, showing love and affection, the other needs in
pleased. Feeling left out of things, having strong dyscon-
fidence, is influenced by the excessive use of alcohol by the
begin to deteriorate. This situation, as we so many of
stripped of their assistance for one reason or another they
support by their mothers or women-servants, and when
durable themselves. Some are at first given the money
or worse - and having these women's husbands, they become
more, who are easily influenced by men - either for better
group of people who are extremely dependent on their loved
enough to show their husbands. When husbands of that vast
which have been accepted without it they had been fortunate
it is typical of a particular type of woman who very easily
the last case mentioned has been selected because

again a number of factors in a particular condition -

which could be nurtured by a strong husband or destroyed by a weak one, ego strengths which could be fostered by a mother-substitute if such appeared on the scene before matters had gotten completely out of hand. Weak ego strengths signify lack of emotional maturity and instability. If, in this type of person, religious training or the like had been fostered, it might well provide the bridge to security and adjustment by fulfilling the strong unmet dependency needs.

Case 4. Mrs. Gray, a thirty-year old white woman and mother of four children, and husband appeared in juvenile court on charge of neglect of children in that they failed to provide proper care or oversight. They were referred by Rhode Island Child Service. The Grays presented a history of excessive neglect for a number of years and three years prior to present court appearance both had been arraigned in district court on a like charge. Both were placed on probation at that time for a six-months period. Mr. and Mrs. Gray were alcoholics. Mr. Gray was most abusive when intoxicated and the police were constantly at their home to stop the beatings that he frequently administered to Mrs. Gray. Mr. Gray was an inadequate worker and gave insufficient money to Mrs. Gray even when he was in a position to provide fairly adequately. The children, all of high average intelligence and with vast potentialities, were malnourished, dirty, inadequately clothed, and attendance problems. Joan, the oldest child, was beginning to show signs of behavior difficulties regardless of the fact that she was "daddy's favorite." Mr. and Mrs. Gray were placed on probation, Mr. Gray being placed under the supervision of a male counselor, and Mrs. Gray being placed under the supervision of a female counselor. No court action was taken against the children and they were allowed to remain in their parents' home.

Mrs. Gray, while an infant, "was removed from

the care of her mother and was shortly adopted." Her home was good but the adopted mother did not allow Mrs. Gray to emancipate herself. Rather Mrs. Gray maintained a dependent attitude towards her which she transferred to her husband upon her marriage. Mrs. Gray was of dull normal intelligence and she had completed the first year of high school. When eighteen years of age Mrs. Gray learned that she was "adopted," which fact upset her considerably. Mrs. Gray had to be married and from the outset of marriage Mr. Gray did not assume his role of husband. The adopted mother supplemented Mrs. Gray and family and until her death the family managed fairly well. Shortly after adoptive mother's death, and many times later, adoptive father remarked to Mrs. Gray that he "was sorry to have adopted her."

When placed on probation the second time for neglect of children, Mr. and Mrs. Gray separated, feeling that they could not get along together. The condition of the home fluctuated - first being good and then bad. Mrs. Gray was unhappy without her husband and the two eventually were reconciled. Periodically they resorted to alcohol and during those periods the home and children suffered. They were unable to maintain any improvement. Neither has been willing to face the fact that he is "not the type that can use alcohol moderately." Both reject Alcoholics Anonymous. For a period of time Mrs. Gray was at the House of Good Shepherd. She was in need of rest and routine. The children were placed temporarily and Mrs. Gray improved physically through the placement but she was unable to hold the gain she had made.

This case of neglect was brought on directly by the excessive use of alcohol and much marital conflict. Mr. and Mrs. Gray were immature and unstable. Mr. Gray showed this through his excessive drinking, by his refusal to support his family even when in position to do so, and by

The date of the accident was the 10th of March 1904. The house was built in 1880 and was a two-story building. It was built by the late Mr. J. H. Smith, who was a prominent citizen of the town. The house was built on a lot of 10 acres, and it was the only house of its kind in the town. The house was built in the style of a Colonial house, and it was very comfortable and well-furnished. The house was built by the late Mr. J. H. Smith, who was a prominent citizen of the town. The house was built on a lot of 10 acres, and it was the only house of its kind in the town. The house was built in the style of a Colonial house, and it was very comfortable and well-furnished.

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This case of neglect was brought on through the negligence of the late Mr. J. H. Smith, who was a prominent citizen of the town. The house was built in the style of a Colonial house, and it was very comfortable and well-furnished. The house was built by the late Mr. J. H. Smith, who was a prominent citizen of the town. The house was built on a lot of 10 acres, and it was the only house of its kind in the town. The house was built in the style of a Colonial house, and it was very comfortable and well-furnished. The house was built by the late Mr. J. H. Smith, who was a prominent citizen of the town. The house was built on a lot of 10 acres, and it was the only house of its kind in the town. The house was built in the style of a Colonial house, and it was very comfortable and well-furnished.

his unwillingness to accept the fact that he may be a contributing factor to this family breakdown. Mrs. Gray displayed her immaturity and instability because of her inability to function adequately unless supplemented continually by a very resourceful mother or mother-substitute. Not receiving the support she needed from her husband, she resorted to alcohol as a means of escape. Too, she used alcohol as a "tool" to obtain the attention she so strongly desired from her husband. Because of her strong identification with her adoptive mother, because of her good relationship with her, she loved and cherished her children, but being so crippled in her personality and character, she has been unable to function independently.

The relationship between the two is not a simple one. It is a complex one, involving many factors. The first factor is the nature of the relationship itself. Is it a relationship of power and control, or is it a relationship of mutual respect and equality? The second factor is the nature of the individuals involved. Are they individuals who are capable of understanding and respecting the rights of others? The third factor is the nature of the society in which the relationship exists. Is it a society that values individual rights and freedoms, or is it a society that values conformity and obedience? The fourth factor is the nature of the laws and customs that govern the relationship. Are they laws and customs that protect the rights of individuals, or are they laws and customs that protect the interests of the powerful? The fifth factor is the nature of the communication between the individuals. Is it open and honest, or is it closed and dishonest? The sixth factor is the nature of the emotions involved. Are the emotions positive and loving, or are they negative and hateful? The seventh factor is the nature of the actions taken. Are the actions just and fair, or are they unjust and unfair? The eighth factor is the nature of the consequences. Are the consequences positive and beneficial, or are they negative and harmful? The ninth factor is the nature of the time and place. Is the relationship taking place in a time and place that is conducive to understanding and respect, or is it taking place in a time and place that is conducive to conflict and violence? The tenth factor is the nature of the individuals' beliefs and values. Are the individuals' beliefs and values based on a respect for human rights and freedoms, or are they based on a belief in the superiority of one group over another? The relationship between the two is a complex one, involving many factors. It is a relationship that is constantly changing and evolving. It is a relationship that is shaped by the individuals involved, the society in which they live, the laws and customs that govern them, the communication between them, the emotions involved, the actions taken, the consequences, the time and place, and the individuals' beliefs and values.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has described the moral aspects of the duties of parents to their children as first set forth in the Bible, and in the early English laws upon which our forefathers and present-day legislators based their laws concerning the welfare of children and their parents' obligation to them. It was stated that there has been a need for such expression from at least the beginning of recorded history, and it was further stated that the moral aspects of today's laws are coincident with that upon which they are based, modified somewhat by the concepts of the social thinking of the present time.

This study has involved the examination of past and present factors that contributed to or influenced the behavior of each one of this group of forty women who appeared before the Juvenile Court of Rhode Island on the charge of neglect of children, and who were placed on probation. In so doing, the writer felt that it was first necessary to consider the type of neglect for which each offender appeared in court. Examination disclosed that although only fourteen appeared in court specifically charged with failure "to provide proper care or oversight"

for their children, actually the entire group had failed in this respect.

Most of the group of married women were separated from their husbands. Nine ultimately lived with their husbands; and of these, only two enjoyed a satisfactory relationship. Indeed, one of this group was separated from her husband because of his entry into the service and after his death did not marry; and, furthermore, three additional women were widows throughout the entire period. Nevertheless, the study revealed that it was unlikely that two of these four women would have made satisfactory marital adjustments had their husbands lived. This is a significant finding, and combined with the fact that all of these women had failed to give proper care or oversight to their children, indicated that the wives were greatly responsible for the family breakdown despite the lack of foresight or good fortune in the majority of the women in choosing unstable, immature husbands.

The average age of the group was twenty-nine years; the median age of the married group was thirty-three and one-half years; and the median age of the unmarried mothers was twenty-three years. Youthfulness, therefore, was found not to be a factor in these situations, since all were "old enough to know better."

The intelligence level of the majority of the group -

The latter children, especially the twelve girls had failed
in this respect.

Most of the group of married women were separated from
their husbands. The children lived with their husbands;
and of these, only two enjoyed a satisfactory relation-
ship. Indeed, one of this group was separated from her
husband because of his going into the service and since
his death his wife, and, consequently, their children,
all women were without throughout the entire period. Seven-
teen, the group consisted of two children and two
of these four women could have been satisfied, without
adjustments and their husbands lived. This is a slightly
good finding, and combined with the fact that all of these
women had failed to give proper care or attention to their
children, indicated that the girls were greatly responsible
for the family breakdown despite the fact of leaving on
good terms in the majority of the women in domestic cases.
Of, female husbands.

The average age of the group was thirty-three years and
median age of the married group was thirty-three and one-
half years; and the median age of the separated group was
twenty-three years. For children, thirteen, and found in
to be a factor in these situations, since all were "old"
women or young women.
The intelligence level of the majority of the group was

twenty-one of the married women and five of the unmarried - was found to be within normal limits. Defective intelligence, therefore, was not a causative factor in the majority of the situations.

It was found that immorality or promiscuity as well as the excessive use of alcohol were present in more than half of the cases studied. This observation indicates that the group suffered deep-seated emotional conflicts, and possessed many unmet emotional needs. Further, the study revealed that emotional immaturity and instability were typical characteristics of the group, whereas illness of the mothers, physical and mental, was found not to be characteristic. It is no wonder, therefore, that marital discord was found to be so prevalent and that so many of these women had no homes or strong family ties.

The economic status of the group was below that which is conducive to marital harmony, as only one of the group studied received an adequate income.

The group disclosed its emotional and financial dependence in its previous association with social agencies: the average span of time being eight years (5.6 years for the unmarried mothers and 8.7 years for the married women). This emphasizes the very important fact that these situations were chronic - that the pattern was firmly established.

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It is thus seen that these women, although sufficiently mature in age and intelligence, for one reason or another were not conditioned to make adequate wives and mothers. The study of the backgrounds and early life experiences of these women bears out this statement. Twenty-four of the forty women experienced some type of breakdown in early life; thirteen came from homes in which one or both parents were immoral; seventeen of their mothers were inadequate as mothers and housekeepers; thirty-three received no religious training, and the remaining seven had formed no association whatsoever in this respect; the above thirty-three received inadequate moral training; thirty received limited educational opportunities; sixteen had one or two alcoholic parents; and the entire group had received no preparation for marriage.

In short, the group suffered not merely from one harmful early experience, but from many, and therefore were, upon entering their wedded life, totally unprepared morally, emotionally, religiously, and socially to meet the responsibilities they were assuming - they were "cripples" and could not carry on unassisted. Also thirteen of the married women entered "forced" marriages, a factor that added more fuel to the fire.

The early life experiences of the unmarried group were like those of the married women. They, too, suffered from

more than one of the crippling experiences described above.

This study reveals, therefore, that a combination of factors contributed to these family breakdowns: that because of typical characteristics brought about by their past experiences, because they had not been enabled to develop the proper moral responsibility towards their children, and because they lacked the characteristics necessary for successful motherhood, these women neglected their children.

Neglect by these forty women seriously disrupted the lives of one hundred and forty children. Seventy-nine of these children (twenty-five families) have not been reunited with their parents, and that they ever will be seems unlikely - they are forgotten children as far as their mothers are concerned. This is a relatively small group, but considering the scope of the problems involved, it is a large number of children. It seems, therefore, that the community must devise a method of preventing the occurrence of the situations. Also the community must plan for the families that are thus disorganized.

It has been shown that these neglect situations are chronic, and that these mothers are immature, unstable, dependent people - people who, at this writing, are beyond the reach of the present available case work services. These people (mothers) have demonstrated not only their

(continued)

unwillingness to be helped, but also their inability to benefit from existing case work services.

These findings demonstrate the existence of a very great need - a need for a social agency that could offer long-term assistance: an assistance available before the family circumstances precipitated court action, an assistance enabling these families to be reunited under supervision; an assistance to be either intermittent or continuous depending on the particular case situation. Neglect situations develop over a period of years and, consequently, demand additional years of professional service to reshape the personalities and the behavior pattern existing in these families.


In the light of the above needs, the agency must be public - large appropriations would be required to support its work; it must at all times be available to accept from any social agency cases in which an early stage of neglect situation is evidenced by the presence of typical "neglect symptoms"; it must be staffed by experts in neglect situations for the purpose of study and diagnosis, and by case workers who are able to offer friendly, forthright, practical, and thorough services whose scope encompasses all of the possible needs of such families - its services being so planned that the term of service it offers can meet the needs of the most hopeless situation whether assistance be

required during the whole period of rehabilitation or just intermittently. This agency, basically preventive in its nature, would relieve other social agencies for other cases requiring short-term services; it would keep many neglect cases out of court and let rehabilitation begin before serious breakdown occurs; it would keep families together, preventing traumatic experiences which have such harmful effects on the children so involved. Since no social agency can offer a panacea for the ills it seeks to cure, neither could this agency be expected to prevent all court appearances on the charge of neglect of children since some families will always exist undetected, unwilling to be helped or incapable of being helped by any means known to our present society. On the basis of the cases studied, the writer feels that the presence of such an agency certainly would have prevented the court appearances of fifteen of the mothers, since the limited resources now available brought about their rehabilitation even after the situations had become so serious that they required court action. Certainly had these cases been referred early in their development to an agency specialized in treating neglect situations, they would have been sooner enabled to function independently. For obvious reasons it is hardly likely that any agency could have reunited the eight unmarried mothers and their children; but of the remaining seventeen not reunited, it

is the writer's opinion that possibly one half of these might have had more favorable prognoses had such an agency been afforded them when their neglect situations were incipient.

Since a clear focus on the needs of the present can easily project the image of future needs, it is reasonable to expect that an agency that could offer preventive assistance to families that present the characteristics typical of neglect situations might easily support itself on the saving to the community in the reduction of the number of children whose support and oversight the community must furnish when homes are broken under the circumstances of neglect.

Approved,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard K. Conant".

Richard K. Conant
Dean

is the writer's opinion that finally one will be made
which will have more definite results than any in being
now expected from such a single situation.

Insight.

Since a clear view of the needs of the present and
early past, the image of future needs, in its development
to suggest that it is only that could give positive results
and so realize the present the development of
of needed elements which early support itself on the
basis of the coming in the reduction of the number of
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APPENDIX

SCHEDULE

Name	Case No.
Birth date	Age at time of court appearance
Race	
Referred by	
Offense	
a. circumstances resulting in charge	
Marital status	
a. unmarried	
b. married and living with husband	
c. separated (legally or otherwise)	
d. divorced	
e. widow	
Number of children involved	
a. physical and mental condition	
b. living with or away from parents	
c. attitude of parent towards child	
Home	
a. type	
1. good	
2. fair	
3. poor	
4. homeless	
Early life history	
Religious affiliation	
Intelligence	
Personality type	
School achievement	
Work record	
Physical condition	

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1990

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

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Mental condition

Marital adjustment

Economic status

Contact with social agencies

a. length of time

b. type of service received

Adjustment after court experience and under supervision

a. willingness to be helped

b. interest in home and children

General Remarks

General Remarks

General Remarks

General Remarks

General Remarks

General Remarks

General Remarks

General Remarks

General Remarks

General Remarks

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